

# The Charlotte Journal.

T. J. HOLTON,  
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.  
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"Perpetual Vigilance is the Price of Liberty," for "Power is always Stealing from the Many to the Few."

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## Explanatory Debate

Upon the Report of the Committee of Thirteen, which arose upon the question of reading the first bill a second time.

The bills were then read a first time by their titles.

Mr. CLAY moved they be read a second time, and made the special order of the day for to-morrow, and printed.

Mr. TURNER said that he thought the bill should take their regular order. The report was a long one, and Senators ought to have an opportunity to examine it. He objected to the second reading of the bill.

Mr. FOOTE said the report would be printed and laid on the table to-morrow morning, that he supposed would obviate the difficulty.

Mr. TURNER said that the difficulty would not be obviated by that.

Mr. CLEMENS gave notice of his intention to move as an amendment to that portion of the bill providing for the admission of California the following: "And the line of 36° 30' shall be the southern boundary of said State of California."

Mr. PHELPS said it was his original intention to have submitted his views (he having differed from the committee in many things) in writing in the shape of a minority report, but had afterwards concluded to confine himself to an expression at the proper time of his dissent from the report of the majority. The language of the report in one particular was the expression of the unanimous sentiment of the committee. It was true that in the proper construction to be placed on the resolutions of annexation of Texas, he agreed with the committee, but he differed widely from some of the positions and grounds taken in the report.

It was his misfortune to have differed from the committee on most of the leading features of their scheme, and while he now confined himself to disclaiming any responsibility for the report, he would take another occasion to express his views more at large. He thought that this whole Texas subject should have been passed by without any notice of it in this report.

Mr. CLAY said that he had omitted to state that the committee, and every member of it, had met with the most perfect and sincere desire to adopt such scheme as would be most advantageous to the restoration of peace and harmony on this distracting question.

Mr. MAISON said that he had never seen any gentleman more disposed than those who composed the committee to come to a happy conclusion on this subject, and there was no man who regretted more than he did that their consultations did not so result. The subject had its difficulties, and he had hoped this committee would have removed them; but those difficulties, in his opinion, had not been removed. The language of the report shows that it was not unanimous. He was not in the majority who made that report, and he regretted that he could not concur in the measure reported by the committee.

Mr. COOPER said that it had been his misfortune not to agree with the majority of the committee on many of the points on which they had reported. He would not at present particularize those points on which he differed. He agreed with the conclusion of the committee concerning the force of the resolutions of annexation of Texas, but desired to reserve until another time, an expression of his sentiments on the point. He agreed with the main features of the report, and regretted that he could not agree with them all.

Mr. DOWNS said that as his silence might be construed into an approval of the report of the committee of which he was a member, he thought it no more than his duty to state the points on which he did not agree. His particular objection was one which he had urged in the Senate on several occasions, and it was that he would never consent to the admission of a State with the boundaries of California. Moreover, he thought that the south should have a portion of that State, and had hoped that the Missouri compromise line would have been adopted there.

Mr. BERRIEN said that he agreed with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Phelps] in respect to that portion of the report concerning the admission of new States to be formed out of Texas. He could not agree to the plan reported by the committee, admitting California with her present boundaries. He found it impossible for him to vote for the admission of any State with the extent of sea-coast now held by California; he could not consent to place that under the control of any one State. He would have been glad if the State had been divided into two States by the line of 36° 30'. An insuperable objection to the admission of California was that she claimed two Representatives in the House of Representatives. He found that the Constitution placed representation upon population, and that, under the present apportionment law, California, to be entitled to two Representatives, must have a population of one hundred and forty-one thousand three hundred and sixty inhabitants—not persons in the country, but settled inhabitants. He did not believe that she had this population. He did not agree with the committee in their notice of the Wilcox proviso. It was treated as if Congress had the power to pass it. He would rather have not alluded to it at all.

Mr. MANGUM said that he had supported the raising of this committee, in the hope of settling the difficulties which had so disturbed the country. He had gone for the committee to bring about some practical plan of adjustment. He believed that no plan could be submitted that would not be open to criticism, and with which faults might not be found. But if even a man was to oppose a plan because it did not suit him exactly—if they were to indulge in criticism and hypercriticism,

then there could never be any plan adopted. If every man were to stand dogmatically and obstinately on his own private opinions, then nothing ever could be done. There were a few things in this plan which did not exactly square with his private views and opinions, but what was the committee raised for if it were not to obviate these private difficulties? He took the report as a whole, and he would support it cordially and with pleasure. He was for settling in any honorable way; indeed, he was disposed to be liberal.

Mr. CLEMENS said that he would vote against all the measures reported by the committee. He had voted for the committee because his friends had done so, but he never expected any good to result from it, and he was not disappointed. It was nothing more than the plan submitted long since by the resolutions of the Senator from Kentucky, and which the Senator from N. Carolina had then approved in the strongest terms. He thought the Senator from North Carolina a little inconsistent in supporting that now which he had denounced some time back. The Senator spoke of being liberal. He (Mr. C.) could not be liberal when it was proposed to do that which was unconstitutional. He could not agree with the report because it assumed three things as facts which were not facts. The first of these was, that there was an imperative necessity for the formation of a State government in California. If so, why did it not exist in Utah, New Mexico, and in Oregon? The next was, that there was the requisite number of inhabitants (in the constitutional sense of the term) in California to entitle her to admission. He denied the truth of this. The third assumed fact, and to which he could not assent, was, that the irregularities which took place in California had taken place in regard to other States. He then gave a history of the admission of the other States, to show this assumption was not true.

Mr. CLAY said that he did not think it either just to the committee, the Senate, the report, the country, or the subject, that the report should be thus taken up and debated before it had time to have been spread before the country. He never knew a report to be the subject of remark and debate. Let the measures and the bills reported be discussed, but do not pounce down on the report, and hold that up to comment and ridicule before it is known to the country. He would stand by that report and the measures of the committee. He had enlisted in the cause of his country, and would stand firm to his post; and no remarks, of whatever nature, would induce him to abandon his duty.

Mr. FOOTE said that he was rather of an impulsive nature, and was apt to arrive at conclusions upon subjects as soon as possible as most men, but he could not, as some of his friends had done, see, in what he had heard of this report, sufficient to enable him to form a correct judgment upon its merits. He had understood its general features, and thought he would be able to give it his support.

He thought it due to the country and the committee that the report should be printed, and would move that fifty thousand extra copies be printed. He did not think it proper that the report should be prejudiced in advance.

Mr. CLEMENS said that the Senator from Mississippi had seemed surprised at his quick perception of the report. The Senator must have forgotten that on yesterday he had endeavored, for more than an hour, to impress him with the contents of the report, and to induce him to support it. This was an old subject. The bills reported had been upon the table for weeks. The other features were the same as the Senator from Kentucky's resolutions.

Mr. YULEE said that the legislative report of the committee could not receive his support. He considered it but the embodiment of the scheme submitted by the Senator from Kentucky early in the session, and which had been before the country, and which had been pronounced against. He then read a commentary on Mr. Clay's resolutions from the *Journal of Commerce*, in which it was said that the North could adopt that plan because it gave the North the kernel and the South the shell. He thought the South should have a small portion of the kernel.

Mr. BURLAND said he could not support the report of the committee, particularly by the part relating to fugitive slaves.

Mr. HALE said that he hoped this opposition to the plan by the South was not a faint, but that it would be persevered in and the measure voted down.

Mr. HOUSTON was in favor of printing the report, and when he had time to examine it, would form his judgment upon it. He was for union and compromise.

Mr. MANGUM said a great error in which Senators were falling was, in supposing this plan was the same in substance with the resolutions of the Senator from Kentucky. He had, when those resolutions were offered, declared he would never vote for them, because one of them asserted two truths that slavery did not exist in the territories, and that it never could exist there. He would say now, that if any one could point out in any part of this plan any recognition of the principles of that resolution, he would vote against it. He had always been in favor of admitting California in her full length and breadth.

Mr. CASS urged that this was not the proper time to discuss the subject. He hoped the matter would be printed. No gentleman on or off the committee was precluded from submitting such amendments to the bill as he should deem proper.

Mr. DICKINSON was in favor of printing this report. As a whole it had his concurrence. He had assented to the report, and

though its reasoning was not his, he had assented to its conclusions. He concurred in the conclusions to which the committee had arrived, under the circumstances. If he had to frame the bill he would have made them differently; but he had long since known that even on unimportant measures every one cannot have his particular views. He thought the plan was very different from the resolutions of the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. DAVIS, of Miss., said that he would vote for the printing, but he would vote against the bills reported by them. He was prepared to vote against the bills before the committee went out, and their union would not change his vote.

Mr. BRIGHT said, that he had, against his own personal interests, against the instructions of his State, and against the popular will of his constituents, gone in favor of this measure as a compromise. He thought the man who, in this case, would consider his own interests, did an injury to his country, and was unworthy a seat on the floor. He would vote for the plan reported, with no reservations, but go for it strongly and broadly. If this failed, he would go for such measure as would admit California at the earliest moment.

The report and the bills were then ordered to be printed, and

The Senate adjourned.

## Mr. Webster.

We submit the speech of this gentleman delivered upon the occasion of his late visit to his home. It will be read with deep interest by all Southern men, giving earnest, as it does, of his determination to persevere in his efforts to bring about a final settlement of the question which has so long agitated the whole country. That these efforts, backed by those of Mr. Clay, and Gen. Cass, will be successful, in the end, we will not allow ourselves to doubt for a moment.

The remarks of Mr. Webster, with regard to the stagnation of business during this controversy, are extremely pertinent, and will strike every reader as such. It is impossible for Congress to attend to the ordinary business of legislation as long as it continues, and the immense amount of business on hand, which requires immediate attention, should, if there were not other and stronger inducements, plead successfully for an early settlement. Much evil augury has been indulged within the last fortnight, relative to the success of the Committee of thirteen, by Whigs as well as Democrats. But in Mr. Webster, who ought to know as much about the matter, as any of the anonymous news manufacturers at Washington, we perceive no signs of despondency. On the contrary his tone is cheerful, and his words are full of hope. We shall wait until we see the great leaders in this attempt, such as Clay, Webster, and Cass, give signs of flinching, before we allow ourselves even to doubt.—*Richmond Whig.*

From the *New York Journal of Commerce.*

Mr. Webster rose in the carriage, and was received with loud cheering. After the noise had in some manner subsided, he proceeded to say, that it was with great pleasure that he met so large an assemblage of his friends at a time when his private affairs had called him from the seat of government to his own home. As you have said, sir, the labors of the winter in the public council of the country, have been arduous. I am sorry to say those arduous duties are not done with. I am sorry to say that the public affairs of the country have not yet made so much progress towards satisfactory adjustment, as to remove all the subjects under discussion; but I feel authorized now to say, there is reason to hope—reason to expect that further reflection—that a generous comparison of various wishes where we disagree, will bring about that improved state of public feeling—in the reproduction of which, all our expectations of useful discharge of public duty—all our expectations of useful legislation, must depend.

I cannot but feel, sir, that I stand in the presence of my friends; I must regard this gathering as the personal tribute of your welcome to me. You do not welcome the politician; and this is not an opportunity for discussing those questions which now agitate the community and the government; questions which can leave little repose in the mind of any intelligent man, till he can see some probability that from their discussion and adjustment may come the prosperity, peace, happiness, and continued union of the country.

Gentlemen, I have felt it my duty, on a late occasion, to make an effort to bring about some amelioration of that excited feeling, on this subject, which pervades the people of the country everywhere, North and South. To make an effort, also, to restore the government to its proper capacity for discharging the proper business of the country. Let me say it is unable to discharge that business, and that it may regain that capacity, there is a necessity for effort both in Congress and out of Congress. Neither you nor I shall see the legislation of the country proceed in the old harmonious way, until the discussions in Congress, and out of Congress, upon the subject to which you have alluded shall be in some way suppressed. Take that truth home with you and take it as truth. Until something can be done to allay the feeling now separating men in different sections, there can be no useful and satisfactory legislation in the House of Congress.

Mr. Curtis and gentlemen: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has done me the honor to place me as her representative; as one of her representatives in Congress. I have believed that she would approve in me any honest, cautious and sincere effort to lay the discussion which we see among the people of the country, and to restore Congress to its constitutional capacity for action. I have believed that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts would support her representative in that Congress.

I have believed that a general sentiment of the whole country would favor and encourage their efforts in it, and I have the satisfaction now to believe it and in that faith I shall not be disappointed. (Cheers.) However that may be, that effort I shall repeat. (Renewed cheering.) In that case of pacification I shall persevere regardless of all personal consequences. (Three cheers.) I shall minister to no local prejudices. I shall support no agitations having their foundations in real ghostly abstraction. [Laughter and cheers.] I shall say nothing which may foster the unkind passions separating the North from the South. May my tongue cleave to my mouth before it may utter any sentiment which shall increase the agitation in the public mind on such a subject.— (Cheers.)

Sir—I have said that this is not an occasion for political discussion. I confess that if the time and circumstances gave an opportunity, I should not be indisposed to address the people of Massachusetts directly upon the duty which the present exigencies of affairs has devolved upon her—this great and glorious Commonwealth; upon the duty, at least, which it devolves upon us who represent her in the national legislature. This will not be such an opportunity. I shall have an occasion in my seat in the Senate, to which I shall immediately return, to give my opinions upon some topics of an interesting character; topics in regard to some of which, there exist both misstatements and misapprehensions—the greatest misstatement, the greatest misapprehension. I may simply mention one of these topics: the delivery of fugitives from service. With regard to that question, there exists the greatest prejudice—the greatest misapprehensions. I do not wonder at the misapprehensions. I am well aware that is a topic which must excite prejudices. I can very well feel what the prejudices are which it must very naturally bring up in the minds of the good people of this Commonwealth. But, Mr. Curtis, and Gentlemen, there are, in regard to that topic, duties, absolutely incumbent on the Commonwealth; duties, imposed by the constitution, absolutely incumbent on every person who holds office in Massachusetts.

Under her own constitution and laws and those of the nation, she is bound, and persons are bound in the discharge of the duty—a disagreeable duty. We call upon her to discharge that duty as an affair of high morals and high principles. We show to her and we ask her to resolve upon the performance of duty, though it be disagreeable. Any man can perform an agreeable duty, but it is not every man who can perform a disagreeable duty. Any man can do what is altogether pleasant. The question now is, whether Massachusetts—whether the old State of Massachusetts, improved by two centuries of civilization, renowned for her intellectual character, mighty in her moral power, conspicuous before the world, a leading State in this country ever since it was a Union; the question is, whether Massachusetts will shrink from or come to a fair and moderate performance of her sworn obligations.— I think she will. (Cheers.) Sir, the question is whether she will be just against temptation. Whether she will defend herself against her own prejudices. She has conquered everything else in her own name.— She has conquered this ocean which was her shore; she has conquered her inflexible climate; she has fought her way to the universal respect of the world; she has conquered every body's prejudices but her own; the question is whether she will conquer her own prejudices. I shall return to that Senate to put that question to her in the presence of that common mother, who shall deal it to her heart. (Cheers.) In the meantime let me repeat that I stand no step backward. (Cheers.) I am devoted to the restoration of peace, harmony, concord out of Congress, and such a degree of mutual co-operation in Congress as may enable it to carry on once more the legitimate business of the Government. This Union, for the preservation of which I strive;—the Union of States for which I strive, is not merely a union of law, of constitution, of compact; but while it is that, it is a Union of brotherly regard, of fraternal feeling throughout the whole country. I do not wish that any portion of the people of this country shall feel held together only by the bonds of a legal corporation; bonds which some of them may think restrain their limbs, cramp their affections, and gail and worry them. On the contrary, that they shall be bound together by those unseen, soft, easy-fitting chains, that result from generous affections, and from a sense of common interest and common pride.

In short, fellow-citizens—my desire and my labor is to see that state of things produced, in which, filling all bosoms with gratitude, all hearts with joy, illuminating all faces, spreading through all ranks of people, whether rich or poor,—whether North, South, East or West, there shall exist the balm of all our suffering, the great solace of all our political calamities in the great and glorious future, and that is a love of our united government.

Mr. Webster closed amidst vociferous cheering, which lasted for some moments.— The meeting being in the open air, the vast crowd, in their anxiety to see and hear the speaker, rushed upon the reporters' tables and entirely stopped the operations of most of them. In this dilemma your reporter was greatly indebted to Mr. Hale of the *Daily Advertiser*, for aid, from the report prepared for that paper.

## Sober Sense.

There is much truth, says the *Journal of Commerce*, in the annexed communication, which Northern men would do well to ponder. On the other hand, it contains some things which are strongly stated—perhaps over-stated.

For the *Journal of Commerce.*

"Judge not, that ye be not judged; for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged."

This sage counsel of Divine revelation is not generally held to be of universal application by any of us. On the contrary, we are all too ready to judge every body else—often without testimony, without inquiry, and without charity.

Who is responsible for slavery at the South, for which Southern men are so constantly, and so unjustly and unsparingly abused?

Did the South send their ships to Africa to rob and plunder its inhabitants—to make merchandise of human souls—to steal their fellow-men? Did they make their gains by human traffic? They have often been charged with it—but all charges are not true.— Who charges it? Northern men, Northern editors, in every free State with a few splendid exceptions. And well might the words of the prophet to the guilty King of Israel be retorted upon them, as a people, "Thou art the man." It was Northern men who imported the slaves—it was they who were guilty of all the excesses of cruelty, the very reference to which produces an involuntary shudder of humanity. They originated the evil, from base motives of avarice—they continued and enlarged it by myriads, under the most excessive cruelty—and they would now cast the odium, as they have long since done the responsibility of the criminality, upon Southern people.

They would cut them off from law and gospel, and refuse them the rights and privileges for which Southern men, as slaveholders, have always largely contributed, whether with treasure or with blood—and which they themselves have solemnly guaranteed to them by solemn compact—an instrument they all profess to reverence, but from the obligations of which they begin to desire absolution.

If Northern men originated and enlarged the evil, what have Southern men done towards these unfortunate beings? They took them from the bloody hand of Northern men—barbarians, full of ignorance and obduracy, unfitted for any useful employment, unaccustomed to the use of any instrument of industry, unable to understand or to speak any language common to both parties; they clothed and fed and instructed them; they gave them houses to live in, food to eat, and clothing to wear; and they taught them to labor; they gave them religious instruction, and the blessings of civilization; they have set hundreds of thousands at liberty, (till the number so freed became a nuisance, and was necessarily restrained by law;) their physical and social condition has been in a constant state of amelioration from the moment they came under Southern influence—it has been always onward, and moves impeded but by the wanton, reckless, and unjustifiable interference from Northern men; and their present condition, though not what it would have been had they been of a different race, or what the South could wish it to be, is yet infinitely superior to that of their fellows left in Africa, or to the free colored people in the free States, and very much above the laboring peasantry of civilized Europe generally, or of the working classes in Great Britain. A comparison is challenged; and Northern men and Europeans who have visited them and inspected their condition, shall be the judges. But if every instance referred to in all the abolition papers for the past thirty years were combined, and all true, and multiplied by its own quantity, it would not equal in degree the sufferings endured on a single slave ship in a single passage across the Atlantic, under Northern men, and of which Northern men were the authors. Who, then, has done them the most evil? Who has done them the most good? The North or the South?

Africans, moreover, are like other men, and have faults. These necessarily provoke punishment—and this has often been excessive, no doubt. But what provoked the North to fit out ships to go to Africa and make merchandise of human flesh? Did Africans owe them any thing? Did Africans provoke them by crimes and disobedience, or idleness and injuries?

The North first made property of them, and owe much of their gains to them. How many hundred did they ever liberate? On the contrary, when a single individual at the South recently liberated sixty, worth as property then at least \$30,000, it was found difficult, nay impossible, to raise \$3,000 in all the North to send them to Africa; and a large proportion of that insignificant sum was contributed from the South.

Where is the Northern man, old or young, living or dying, that leaves any bequests of any kind to liberate and restore these people, whom their fathers or themselves have planned

and robbed from Africa, to their homes?

But what does the North, after themselves having done so much evil and so little good to the African race, require of the South in regard to them? To emancipate them immediately, or sooner.

Have they calculated the cost of such an act? Do they know that there is a personal value in them as property equal to two thousand millions of dollars? and that an additional loss by depreciation, equal to as much more, would be the necessary consequence of their liberation? Moreover, who would or who could live in the midst of them, having as many free blacks as whites, and more in many places?

Would it not be as reasonable for the South to ask the North to set fire to all their property, both real and personal, and to run away by the light of it, as for the North to expect a compliance with their demand for emancipation.

But another cry is raised; *there shall be no more slave territory*, say the Free-Soilers.— Why not? How did you get rid of slavery? Did you not have the South to send your slaves to?

Have not all the free States rid themselves of most of their slaves by sending and selling them South? If so, have they any right reason to refuse to let the South have an outlet for theirs too?

Who is to be benefited, either by immediate emancipation, or by the confinement of slavery within certain limits? We have seen that the masters and owners would be irretrievably ruined. A loss of four thousand million of dollars would involve this whole country in bankruptcy, and shock all the principal parts of Europe for years.

Would the slaves be benefited by it? Are they not now admitted to be generally in a better condition, both physical and moral, than the free blacks in the free States? And if those States became free, with numbers so much greater, would not the loss to them be not only equal, but greater too?

Are the slaves to be benefited by restriction within narrow limits? Is not the condition of the lower classes always worst in the thickest populated countries? Are you then contending for benefit to either the whites or the blacks? On the contrary, do not all your measures portend ruin to the whites, and unmix evil to the blacks?

Are you good men, and wish to do good to your species? Reflect on your measures, and their tendencies, and change them from evil to good. There is a great field open for good; go and send men to occupy it for good, both to the white and to the black man. Go teach the black man how to submit to the providence of God, till God's time for his deliverance comes. Go, invoke, persuade, beseech the master to look well to his slaves; to their condition, to their treatment by those set over them, to their religious training; assure him that if he will suffer them to be taught to read and to write, you will not place incendiary tracts in their hands, to incite them to insurrection and bloodshed, but that they can then be better and more thoroughly instructed from that gospel which is able to make them wise unto salvation, which inculcates love and good-fellowship, and which inspires all who receive it with a spirit of love and good works.

They will hearken to you, and you will thus be able to exercise all the philanthropy, real or professed, ever felt or feigned by North or South, on the question.

I cannot close these remarks without reminding all men, but especially the Clergy, that the Southern people are entitled to the protection afforded by the observance of the *Ninth Commandment*.

It has recently occurred that a minister of high reputation, and generally esteemed for piety, in the order of his feelings, and without time for consideration, was said to have denounced an eminent Northern Senator as a Fool. Some who heard, took note and published what they believed he said. And what is his justification made with time for cool and deliberate consideration and reflection? Why, that he did not call Mr. Webster, but that he did call Mr. Foote a fool! Unworthy, unhappy extension—aggravation rather than diminishing the fault. Was not Mr. Foote a man, a Senator, and an American, as well as Mr. Webster? Was he not entitled to the same courtesy? To the same respect and regard? Let this reverend gentleman remember 5th Matthew, 22d verse: "And let him keep his heart with all diligence; for in vain do we worship God, if we indulge anger or malice in our hearts against any brother." And remember that the abuse of a Southern man, or a Southern Senator, cannot justify or excuse him, any more than of a Northern man or a Northern Senator.

\*Of having "acted like a fool" the expression was.—[Ed. J. C.]

## FRIGHTENING A LANDLORD

A landlord in Pittsburg, who is well known for his dunning habits, had called several times on a tenant who owed him money.— The tenant finally sent a note inviting him to call on him "in the back room of the third-story, and receive his money." The landlord had read the Webster testimony, and has not troubled his tenant since.

## ARREST OF A FUGITIVE.

Mr. Bulloch, the Cashier of a Bank in Savannah, who robbed it of \$100,000 and fled, was pursued to England, arrested there, and brought back in the Steamer Cambria last week. A reward of \$5000 had been offered for his arrest.